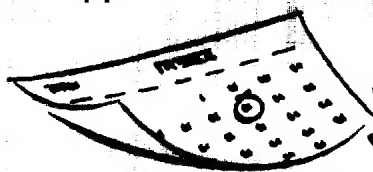


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Significant Dates ▶

[ASTERISK denotes ANNIVERSARIES. All others are CURRENT EVENTS]

FEB

- 1* UN General Assembly adopts resolution charging Chinese Communist aggression in Korea. 1951.
- 4 Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization Council-Executive Committee Meeting. Nicosia, Cyprus.
- 7-12* World War II: Yalta Conference (Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin). 1945.
- 13* Katanga Government announces "massacre" of Patrice Lumumba on 12 February. 1961.
- 13-25* Czechoslovakia, last East European nation governed by traditional parliamentary methods, falls to Communist coup. 25 February: Klement Gottwald becomes Prime Minister. 1948.
- 16* Fidel Castro becomes Prime Minister of Cuba. 1959.
- 21* Anti-Colonialism Day (Communist holiday celebrated mainly by youth and student fronts. Commemorates Communist-inspired mutiny of Indian sailors.) 1946.
- 27* Mao Tse-tung delivers "Hundred Flowers" speech. (Text released 18 June 1957.) 1957. TENTH ANNIVERSARY.

MAR

- 8 International Women's Day. (Celebrated by WIDF, Communist women's front.)
- 8-15* February Revolution in Russia. (Old Style dates: 23 February- 2 March.) 15 March: Tsar Nicholas II abdicates. 1917. FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 12* President's message to Congress advances Truman Doctrine: recommends aid to Greece and Turkey to combat Communism. Approved by Congress, 15 May. 1947. TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 14* Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg sign "Benelux" Customs Union. 1947. TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 18-25 3rd Afro-Asian Writers' Conference at Beirut. (This meeting of Soviet-line followers of the split Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau is rescheduled from February.)
- 21-28 World Youth Week celebrated by World Federation of Democratic Youth (Communist front).
- 25* Treaties creating European Economic Community (EEC) and European Community of Atomic Energy (Euratom) signed in Rome by France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg. 1957. TENTH ANNIVERSARY.
- 27* Khrushchev succeeds Bulganin as Premier of USSR. 1957.
- 29 Martyrs' Day and Youth Day. (Communist China)

Media Lines

19 December 1966



America's Voice Changing. The Voice of America inaugurated in early November a "new sound" on its Worldwide English Service which may spread eventually to its other 37 language services. VOA replaced its traditional program schedule with a continuous flow of music, news and features in two-hour blocks, interspersed with one-hour segments devoted to popular holdover programs. Even the old theme, "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean", was scuttled in favor of "Yankee Doodle", "a good revolutionary song" as VOA Director John Chancellor put it. The new programming approach, somewhat similar to NBC's radio "Monitor" and television "Today", uses a vocabulary of just 1200 words, and is designed as a better means of communication, particularly with listeners who know English only as a second language.

VOA's English Service accounts for about one quarter of its total weekly transmissions of 909 hours. By comparison, the USSR's international broadcasts total 1381 hours weekly; Communist China's, 1105; the United Arab Republic's, 827; the Federal Republic of Germany's 689; and the BBC's, 663.

19 December 1966

Briefly Noted

Other Soviet General Dies
Space Mysteriously

Failures

Concealed On 7 December, the NEW YORK TIMES carried a small item from Reuters reporting a Kremlin announcement that Lt. Gen. Ivan Lavrenov, chief political officer of Soviet Strategic Rocket Forces, had died suddenly at the age of 54 (PRESS COMMENT, 8 December 1966). Earlier, on 12 November, the TIMES had published an AP report (dated 10 November) saying that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration had received word from the space tracking unit of the North American Air Defense Command that for the second time in six weeks, the Soviets had launched a spacecraft which had shattered into many parts (PRESS COMMENT, 15 November). This second unsuccessful space shot had been launched on 2 November; it was finally established that it had broken into more than 40 parts. These two space shots were the first since January 1963 to reach orbit and yet not be acknowledged by the Soviets.

Twenty months have now elapsed since the last Soviet manned satellite, Voskhod 2, circled the earth on 18 March 1965. Further manned space activities may of course take place at any time, and Soviet space scientists have hinted that an event could be expected in early 1967. But the failures reported above and the lapse of time since the last publicized cosmonaut trip give a good basis for speculation and doubt about the Soviet space program. One approach might be to ask if the two exploded

space craft (14 September and 2 November) were not manned craft, which cost the lives of their pilots, and which the Soviets have never acknowledged. Another might be to ask whether General Lavrenov was not the victim of some launching-pad accident, as was Chief Marshal of the Artillery Nedelin, who was killed in October 1960 during the launching of a new long-range missile, and whose death was officially ascribed to an airplane accident. (The episode is described in the PENKOVSKY PAPERS.) A new Soviet manned space event, if it does occur, would provide an additional peg for such speculation and comment.

In any speculative discussion on this subject, emphasize that the Soviets do not announce space events before they occur, and only say what they wish to have known about them then. We have a ready answer to those who say we shouldn't shed doubts on the mighty Soviet space program: if they don't let anyone find out anything, they will have to expect to have doubts arise.

* * *

Refugee First Anniversary of
Flow Cuban Airlift
Continues

The beginning of the second year of the Cuban refugee airlift was marked by the arrival of 175 new arrivals in Miami, Florida on 1 December 1966. During its first year the airlift, operating two flights per day, five days of every week, had carried 44,454

refugees from Castro's Communism to the United States. An equal number is expected for the coming year. As impressive as the figures may be, they are small in comparison with the hundreds of thousands of Cubans who have signed up to leave. Cubans in the States have submitted the names of over a million persons in Cuba whom they believe would leave the country, given the opportunity.

What more eloquent testimony could there be to the failure of Communism in Cuba?

As mentioned in Biweekly Propaganda Guidance 964, "Cuban Exodus is Symbol of Regime's Bankruptcy," 22 November 1965, the refugees from Cuba represent a cross section of the Cuban society. Among those arriving in Miami are farmers, skilled and unskilled laborers, and teachers. The only notable variation from a true cross section has been that a larger than normal percentage has consisted of students, mothers and children; obviously the Cuban worker has sent his family out first for their own protection, hoping to join them later when he can.

* * *

Tricontinental Organization's "Flagrant Violations of UN Principles

OAS Attacks AALAPSO

On 28 November 1966 the Council of the Organization of

American States (OAS)

adopted a report prepared by a Special Committee (known as Lavalle Committee, for its chairman) assigned to study the activities of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference held in Havana in January 1966. The lengthy report (175 pp. in

its English version) is being distributed by the OAS to all members of the UN. Copies are also being widely distributed to United States posts abroad by the Department of State (Circular Airgram to all posts #4254 of 5 December 1966.)

The report is a complete study of the proceedings of the Tri-Continental Conference and of the organizations which grew in its wake, such as the Committee on Vietnam, the Liberation Committee, the Latin American Solidarity Organization, the Latin American Students' Congress and Organization, etc. It emphasizes that these organizations constitute a permanent apparatus to foment subversion throughout the world.

Among its recommendations the Special Committee urged all member states of the OAS to maintain careful vigilance over the activities of AALAPSO, and to renew their efforts to secure the cooperation of friendly countries in the suspension of trade and of sea transportation with Cuba.

This is a very strong, forthright report which will be useful for propaganda purposes over a long period of time. Stations in the countries involved in the OAS or AALAPSO should arrange for propaganda assets to obtain copies of the report through the local government, through the local U.S. Embassy, or by request to Headquarters.

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Anon., "Buddhism in Communist Policy," in the 5 December 1965 issue of "Thought," New Delhi (copy attached)

Anon., "Marxism and Buddhism: Are They Compatible?" from the 24 January 1965 issue of "The Ceylon Observer" (copy attached)

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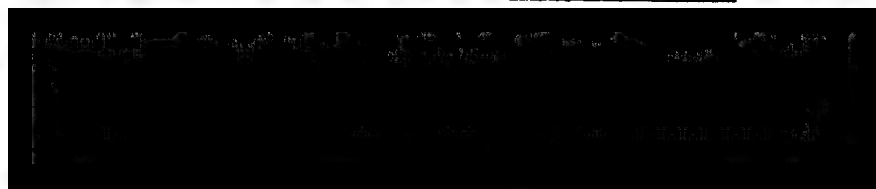
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1088.

RE-STALINIZATION, OVERT AND DISGUISED

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* * * * *

SITUATION: The Brezhnev-Kosygin regime is accelerating its efforts to portray Stalin more favorably. Moreover, it is succeeding in doing so without attracting the kind of attention which the Free World has paid to important political developments in the past and without as yet arousing such overt internal opposition as cropped up earlier in 1966 when leading intellectuals objected to the Stalin-like handling of the Sinyavsky-Daniel case in February and to the rumored move by Brezhnev to rehabilitate Stalin at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. Some recent developments such as the postponement of the All-Union Writers' Congress, snags in effecting economic reform, and the suspected intrusion of the RIS in foreign affairs appear to reflect a form of Stalinism. Nevertheless, re-Stalinization in any degree should cause concern to everyone who wishfully thought that Stalin's influence was practically eliminated by Khrushchev's campaign of 1956-64.

In 1965 and early 1966 discussions in the Soviet press sanctioned the basic policies and decisions of Stalinism in the centralization of economic controls, priority for heavy industry at the expense of consumer welfare, collectivization of agriculture, and restrictions of cultural freedom; but not until November and December 1966 did the press provide abundant evidence that Stalin's image is being recast. Favorable comments have appeared in almost all the major Soviet newspapers, in sharp contrast to the negligible treatment of Stalin during the past 2 years and in even sharper contrast to the criticism of him under Khrushchev. Stalin is praised for his revolutionary activities; he is given a share of the credit for military victories and excused from some of his mistakes in World War II; some of the black marks against Stalin in the 1930's have been partially erased; implicitly, he is depicted as not so bad and even as considerate. The appearance of these articles confirms the trend towards a retreat from Khrushchev's anti-Stalin campaign, which has been detected in the press since at least March 1965. (See BPG Item 1049, "Stalin's Unruly Ghost"; also unclassified attachment for survey of recent press coverage of this subject).

Indirect reminders of Stalin are seen in other recent developments. A slowdown in economic reform (reform, in effect, of Stalin's model) has been suspected during almost all of 1966 and was confirmed by the temporary halt of the transfer of factories to the "new system" as announced in the ECONOMIC GAZETTE in issue #35, 1966. In another possible reflection of the effect of this slowdown, the ratification of the Five-Year

Plan is already months overdue and will probably not be accomplished until well into 1967 because of significant revisions in the plan.

In the realm of ideology there are signs of Stalin-like arbitrariness. Most notable is the probable further postponement of the oft-postponed and long-overdue All-Union Congress of the Writers' Union. This Congress, according to PRAVDA of 19 Sept. 66, was scheduled for sometime before the end of this year. Its postponement suggests that the regime is unwilling to risk unpleasant incidents, especially writers' protests against the punishment of Sinyavsky and Daniel. Another ideological development is the Soviet leaders' renewed efforts to inculcate youth with unquestioning obedience in the Stalinist manner.

The recent arrest of U.S. citizen Valdimir Komarek-Kazan in Czechoslovakia is clearly indicated to be the work of the RIS. This flagrant abuse of the rights of Komarek-Kazan was committed at a time when Czech relations with the U.S. and the West in general were showing signs of improving markedly. Such abusive behavior during periods of improving relations has been observed in the past (see attachment) and it may well be more than gumshoe clumsiness. There appears to be a clear affinity between such behavior and the Stalinist tendency to guard against good relations with the West.

The significance of the changed treatment of Stalin is difficult to assess. However, it is reasonable to consider some possible explanations. For instance, the leaders may believe it necessary to correct their youth's "misunderstandings" about the Stalin era and thereby try to reduce the current widespread apathy. Another plausible explanation is that there is an unpublicized factional dispute in which some leaders are using Stalinism in their own behalf against others. One factor may be that, since the 50th anniversary of the Soviet regime is coming up, it cannot escape notice that 30 of the 50 years were years of Stalin; the Soviet regime is afraid to repudiate such a large part of its past, and has decided instead to try to refurbish its Stalinist history. Whatever the explanation, any further moves to reinterpret Stalin's past can only cause Soviet citizens to be concerned for their own future.

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December 1966

Chile: Frei's Reforms and Castro's Attacks

The second anniversary of the inauguration of the Eduardo Frei administration in Chile was observed on 3 November 1966. It is not difficult to recall the concern with which the 1964 elections were viewed at the time: "The most important election in contemporary Latin American history," one newspaper titled the story. The crucial factor in the election was that Frei confronted the candidate of a Communist-Socialist united front, Salvador Allende. Had Allende won, it would have been the first time in history that a united front in which the Communists were the dominant element came to national power through free, democratic elections. However, on 4 September 1964 the Chilean people gave Frei 56% of the vote, Allende 39%, and a third candidate 5%. This was the first time in 50 years that a Chilean presidential candidate had received such a large majority of the popular vote. In the preceding three elections no candidate had received the required 50% and Congress had had to choose between the top two. It was also the first election victory in Latin America for the Christian Democrats.

The central issue on which Frei had based his electoral campaign had been his promise to carry out a "Revolution in Liberty" -- an economic-social transformation of the country. Two of the constitutional six years of Frei's presidency have now passed and it is possible to take stock of the direction and progress of his administration.

On the domestic front, a beginning has been made in tackling the major economic problems facing the country. Essentially what Frei promised during the election campaign was economic growth more rapid than attained under the preceding administrations; within this atmosphere of growth, a redistribution of income in favor of poorer elements of the population; a major program of agrarian reform, conceived primarily in terms of social equity, but also to bring about increasing agricultural production; a major reform of the educational system to provide greater social and economic mobility and to foster national growth by means of a better prepared population; and a major housing program to provide greater social equity and to stimulate economic growth.

Gross national product has grown at the rate of 5.5% per annum or better during 1965 and 1966, in contrast to rates of 1.4% and 4.0% during 1963 and 1964. As a necessary condition to self-sustaining growth, a principal economic objective has been to create an atmosphere of financial stability in which price inflation can be brought under control and gradually eliminated. This task is formidable in Chile where the cost of living has increased at an average rate of

33 per cent per year since 1950. The Frei administration started a broad program of financial reforms designed to reduce the rate of inflation from the 38% registered in 1964 to 25% in 1965, 15% in 1966, 10% in 1967 and below 10% in 1968. The target for 1965 was barely missed: the year end data showed an increase of 25.9%. Unfortunately, 1966 was less successful and the rate is now estimated at about 25%, well above the planned 15%. Since the poor, the illiterate, the unskilled and the unemployed suffer most from chronic inflation, reducing the rate is a direct gain for them, and there has been a rise in well being for the majority of the population and some redistribution of income in favor of the lower classes and an improvement in their living standards.

The Chilean government has made substantial improvements in the tax structure and particularly in the administration of tax collections which produced an increase in real terms of 24% in 1965 over 1964 and is continuing at a similar rate of increase for 1966. Substantial progress has been made in tackling the shortcomings in education in the form of new school construction, teacher training, and increased enrollment. Frei's program for the "Chileanization" of the copper industry has passed through the legislature and the conclusion of final accords with the major producing companies in the very near future will result in the beginning of a five-year, half-billion dollar investment in this industry. Only a modest start has been made in the major program of agrarian reforms; a law has been drafted and submitted to Congress where it is still tied up in bitter debate. Indeed, many of Frei's programs have been delayed by the Congress. While the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) enjoys an overwhelming majority of 82 out of 147 in the Chamber of Deputies, it is plagued by its minority representation of only 13 out of 45 in the Senate.

In the field of foreign affairs, the Frei government has essentially followed the traditional, and basic, Chilean foreign policies. However Frei has given them a new flair characterized by greater international-mindedness, awareness of his responsibility as Latin America's Christian Democratic leader, and a determination to be more influential in world councils for the cause of peace. In the first days of the government, great stress was laid on the independence of Chile's foreign policies, usually emphasizing rather than minimizing differences with the United States. This, however, has gradually toned down in pragmatic recognition of the real and large community of interest between the two countries. The Chilean government has tended to regard the Cold War in terms of a great power struggle between the U.S. and the Communist Bloc. In an effort to extricate itself from this conflict and to pursue a "third course," Chile has established or renewed diplomatic relations with the USSR and five Soviet bloc states of Eastern Europe and looks to expanded trade, aid, and cultural relations with these countries. However, the Frei government clearly considers itself a "Western nation" and its "third course" is not one of neutralism à la Egypt.

In Latin America, the Frei government has strongly pushed for an expanded Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) and for eventual merger of the LAFTA with the Central American Common Market. President Frei has taken a strong personal lead in these issues, and has worked particularly closely with President Lleras of Colombia in backing economic integration in Latin America.

Chile's relations with Cuba have greatly altered during the two years of Frei's administration. At first the government advocated "peaceful coexistence" with Cuba in the rather fuzzy belief that Communism in Cuba would soon collapse of its own weight if left alone and that actively opposing Castro only served to bolster his position in that country. It soon became evident that this argument was untenable, however, and the Chileans thereafter turned to hopes that Cuba would return to the inter-American system and that relations could be normalized whenever Castro's government met its obligations to respect human rights and to stop intervening in the affairs of its neighbors.

However the declaration of guerrilla war against virtually all Latin American governments which issued from the Tri-Continental Conference at Havana in January 1966 led Chile to join with the other Latin American states in denouncing the Conference and its advocacy of intervention and insurgency in a protest to the United Nations. This resulted in a bitter and vitriolic personal attack on 13 March 1966 by Castro against President Frei, calling him a "liar" and "reactionary." The attack was triggered off by President Frei's complaint on March 11 that the Tri-Continental Conference was partly to blame for strikes and disturbances in Chilean copper mines, particularly at the El Salvador mine where eight people were killed in a clash between striking miners and soldiers. Frei claimed that the conference had inspired the Chilean Communist and Socialist Parties to stir up trouble in the mining areas in order to disrupt government plans for reform and so discredit claims that change could come about in Latin America under a democratic regime.

In his speech to university students on 13 March, Castro called President Frei "a coward who abuses power and hurls troops against the workers," a "vulgar politician who tried to justify his bloody action by blaming the Tri-Continental Conference." Castro openly raised the specter of armed struggle in Chile: Cuban leaders, he said, believed that "in the long run" opponents of imperialism, the oligarchies and the bourgeoisie would take the road of "armed struggle" and sooner or later the Chilean workers would be convinced of its necessity. To help the process along, Havana Radio instituted, at the end of March 1966, a new daily program "designed especially for the people of Chile," called "The People's Revolution versus Bourgeois Reformism." Produced by Chileans living in Cuba, the program provides a steady flow of calumny against President Frei.

In recent months Frei seems to have become Castro's pet hate and the latter seldom makes a major speech without vilifying the Chilean President. In a speech delivered on 26 July 1966 Castro labelled Frei as a "spoiled child of the imperialists" and head of a "pro-imperialist government" who "seeks to cover himself with the figleaf of a false liberty." "It is our duty to warn the socialist countries against Frei's hypocrisy, against Frei's flirting, because the prostitute will not turn virtuous just because come of her flirtation receives attention."

Castro devoted almost an hour of a marathon four and a half hour speech on 29 August 1966 to the Cuban Workers' Organization to an attack on Frei, challenging him to compare progress in Cuba with progress in Chile. According to Castro, Frei "was elected as the result of a campaign of slanders...He terrorized the people. He was elected with an overwhelming avalanche of Yankee and West German financial contributions. He has done absolutely nothing and he will do absolutely nothing...That man will go down in history without glory and without honor...Frei will help the Chilean revolution the same way Batista helped the Cuban revolution...We said that we did not want to take up this matter with that failure, that coward, that thwarted man... Right now there is a scandal in Chile; Frei's government is a failure. It is compromised to imperialism. It is a tool of the counterrevolution...Frei is a revolutionary just as Louis XVI was in France."

Castro's attacks have caused increasing difficulties for Chile's extreme left, which has long been dominated by the FRAP (Popular Action Front), the united front of the Communist (PCCh) and Socialist (PS) parties. The PCCh has always been a relatively moderate Communist party and a long-time advocate of the peaceful road to power and its allegiance has been entirely to Moscow in the Sino-Soviet dispute. In keeping with the friendly Soviet-Chilean diplomatic relations, the PCCh has supported the Frei administration on selected issues and has eschewed all calls to violent revolution, including those emanating from Havana. The Socialists who have traditionally been more radical than the PCCh, on the other hand, appear increasingly to despair of attaining power by democratic means, oppose Frei on every issue, and have become increasingly stronger advocates of revolutionary violence. Castro has directly and indirectly attacked the PCCh for its lack of revolutionary élan. In the 26 July speech Castro had labeled the Chilean Communists as "pseudo-revolutionaries" for allegedly favoring Soviet economic aid to the Frei regime. Radio Havana, on 3 September, featured a thinly veiled attack on the Chilean Communists, railing against "leftist leaders who have lost their revolutionary ardor." Leaders of this sort, it said, "have stopped being revolutionaries but since they have not gone over to the enemy, and since they remain in their old organizations and speak a Marxist language, it is necessary to classify them in some way. The title of pseudo-revolutionaries seems to fit them very well."

In contrast, Castro has gone out of his way to praise the Chilean Socialist Party. A Castro letter to the PS Secretary General, dated 7 August, heaped praise on the Socialist Party for its "courageous, clear, and without any hesitation, internationalist and revolutionary attitude" toward Cuba."

These divergent positions within the FRAP have led to increasing rumors of splits within that coalition, but so far they are only rumors.

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Following are excerpts from a
Malaysian Government White Paper entitled:

THE MILITANT COMMUNIST
THREAT TO WEST MALAYSIA

(Published by the Government of Malaysia, October 1966)

The purpose of this White Paper is to give the people timely warning of a recent and serious development in the security situation in West Malaysia. This is the emergence of militant and violent forms of Communist United Front activity, directly controlled and coordinated by the Communist Party of Malaya from the Malaysian-Thai border.

It is necessary to state clearly that this development forms a vital part of the overall pattern of Communist aggression and subversion in South-East Asia, masterminded and directed by Peking. It does not arise from the frustrations of persons who have been denied constitutional or democratic processes for the advancement of their political beliefs and aspirations. It stems from the Communist Party of Malaya, which has the interests of its Peking masters at heart, and is carried out by people whose loyalties are not towards the Constitution and who do not care at all for the people of this country.

The White Paper explains clearly the real significance of campaigns to support the Vietcong, and the violence of the propaganda attack against American involvement in the Vietnam war. These have become dominant themes in all aspects of the political life of many Communist-penetrated branches within certain political parties. The reason is obvious. South Vietnam is the testing ground for Mao Tse-tung's theories of "People's War" and "wars of national liberation," and victory for the Vietcong will vindicate Peking's advocacy of aggression and revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is the gallant struggle of the South Vietnamese people and their Government, helped by the American military presence in South Vietnam, which stands heroically in the way of Peking's evil aspirations.

Over the years, the Government has taken action from time to time against persons who have sought to subvert the Constitution and destroy our democratic way of life. The Government has also made it unmistakably clear on several occasions that those who allow themselves to become agents and stooges of the Communists must be prepared to accept the inevitable consequences of their illegal action. With the increasing threat of militant Communism, it is Government's inescapable duty to take firm and effective steps to safeguard the security of the country and its people, and this the Government is doing with the full support of all loyal citizens of this country.

AIM

4. The aim of the White Paper is to outline the serious nature of the threat to Malaysia's security posed by the Communist Party of Malaya and the militant policies of its United Front.

Background

6. Whilst it is a fact that the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) ceased to exist as an effective organisation on Malaysian territory in 1960, it is also true to say that by then its remnants had established themselves successfully in remote areas along the Malaysian-Thai border and had sent their representatives to Peking.

7. Since the end of the Emergency in 1960, the Communist Party of Malaya has continued to develop a safe base in the Malaysian-Thai border area. It has also established itself in the international Communist field with "missions" in Peking and Jakarta. Its representatives have attended many international Communist Front conferences round the world, and it has an active group in London which serves to co-ordinate CPM activities in the Afro-Asian and other spheres of interest.

8. The Communist base along the Malaysian-Thai border was originally established in 1953 and in the following years various armed units, and political and propaganda organisations of the CPM, retreated into the comparative safety of what is now regarded by the CPM as a series of "liberated areas."

12. It will be recalled that in mid-1961 the Prime Minister of Malaya first brought up the idea of the formation of Malaysia to consist of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo. This idea quickly developed popular political appeal and negotiations with the British Government were instituted in a normal friendly manner. The Republic of Indonesia, which had a Treaty of Friendship with Malaysia, raised no objections and all went well until the last days of December 1961 when the Communist Party of Indonesia, or PKI, held "the Third Plenum of the PKI Central Committee.

13. This meeting called upon the Indonesian people to support "the righteous patriotic and just resistance of the people of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo against.....Malaysia." This was later followed by D.N. Aidit's statement entitled "Why Indonesian Communists Condemn Malaysia." The whole theme was later taken up by the then Indonesian Government and the Malaysian public well know how Confrontation developed and how, three and a half years later, wiser counsels prevailed in ruling Indonesian circles following the abortive Communist coup on 1 October 65. Needless to say, PKI connections with Peking, the supply of arms from China, the training of Communist militants and details of the coup have become matters of history.

15. In January 1965 came the formation of the "Thai Patriotic Front" based in Red China, and subsequent guerrilla warfare in North-East Thailand. The Malayan National Liberation League mission arrived in Jakarta a month or two later; and then came the announcement of the formation of the "Malayan Patriotic Front" in West Malaysia. Soon after the Indonesian Government took action against the MNLL's Jakarta mission in October 1965, the CPM representatives in Peking were promoted to the status of "mission" and have taken over many of the MNLL Jakarta's international tasks.

16. In late 1964 and throughout 1965 the Communist directed National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam stepped up considerably its militant struggle against the Government of South Vietnam, and regular soldiers of the North Vietnam regime crossed the border in great strength to escalate the war still further.

17. All this is background to what is going on today in South Vietnam. It is there that the Communists spearhead undisguised aggression into South-East Asia and, as will be seen later in the Paper, military action against the United States in South Vietnam is paralleled by co-ordinated support from the Communist United Fronts in the free countries of South-East Asia.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF MALAYA

18. The CPM operates through two illegal organisations:

(a) The Malayan National Liberation Army (MNLA), which is responsible for the armed struggle; and

(b) The Malayan National Liberation League (MNLL), which is responsible for the constitutional struggle and certain aspects of the illegal, or "militant," struggle.

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THE CTO ON THE MALAYSIAN-THAI BORDER

22. There are at present between five and six hundred armed members of the Communist Terrorist Organisation on this border. They are well trained, fully indoctrinated with Communism and serve as a symbol of the armed struggle ready for use should the necessity arise. In addition to these, the CPM has been busy giving guerrilla training to youths in the border area and up to one thousand of them form a reserve which may be embodied at short notice.

23. That the Communist Terrorist Organisation is still very much a force to be reckoned with was illustrated on 7 August 66 by the ambush of fifteen members of the combined Malaysian-Thai Security Forces, ten of whom were killed and the remainder wounded. Let this serve as a reminder to be vigilant. The CPM may well take advantage of any deterioration in the political or military situation in South Vietnam to launch a renewed armed struggle in West Malaysia.

THE COMMUNIST UNITED FRONT BACKGROUND

24. When the CPM decided to mount its armed revolution in June 1948 it withdrew into the jungle all the cadres in its United Front. The immediate result was an almost total collapse of the Trade Union Movement and the complete disappearance of many bogus "nationalist" organisations.

25. From 1951 onwards the CPM has been endeavouring to stage a come-back through the formation of a series of Communist directed and controlled satellite organisations. The Communist aim is to establish a United Front in the political, social, economic and educational fabric of the State through which it hopes to form somehow a Communist Republic of Malaya (including Singapore).

CURRENT POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST UNITED FRONT

26. Since early 1964 the Communist United Front has paid less and less attention to its so-called "constitutional struggle" and has developed what it has called "a South Vietnam atmosphere" of illegal "militancy."

27. What is this "militancy," and how does it differ from the "legal" struggle and the "armed struggle" The answer is in a secret Communist document dated 20 March 1965 recovered from an Executive Committee Member of a Partai Rakyat Branch in Perak. This states:

Methods of Struggle: These are: intense struggle or mild struggle, mass struggle or parliamentary struggle, violent struggle or peaceful struggle. The application of the method of struggle depends on the reactionaries, the political fervour of the people and the comparison of strength between the enemy and ourselves. It is necessary to substitute rapidly one method with another in accordance with changes in the objective situation and make flexible use of methods according to necessity(We) should now adopt the violent method of struggle and make sufficient preparations."

29. On 13 February 65 (an) illegal procession organised by the Socialist Front (prepared) through the streets of Kuala Lumpur. This illegal demonstration has proved to be the prototype for Communist "militancy" and Communist Front Organisations throughout West Malaysia have been constantly urged to carry out similar illegal displays.

31. With the war in South Vietnam reaching a crucial stage there has been increasing evidence of carefully planned Communist co-ordination on an international scale.

32. In early 1966, a call by the Peking Communist bloc and their sympathisers to step up activities against the United States of America, particularly against American intervention in Vietnam, was made at the Communist-organised Tri-Continental Peoples Solidarity Conference in Havana when a resolution was passed.

"Appealing to all people to render moral support to Vietnam in every way by holding demonstrations, taking part in rallies and by organising 'Aid Vietnam' weeks."

33. The Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting held in Peking, which ended on 9 July, further coordinated anti-US activity in the region. In fact, it served as a call if not to arms, certainly to more aggressive "militancy."

34. the Writers Emergency Meeting's final communique had this to say:
"The Meeting extends whole-hearted support to the armed struggles and all other forms of patriotic struggles against imperialism headed by the United States in Laos, Thailand, Malaya (including Singapore), North Kalimantan, Indonesia."

A member of a secret Communist underground organisation within Partia Rakyat Perak, had this to say after arrest:

"I joined the Secret Organisation in 1960 at Malim Nawar my Directing Figure told me to pay attention to local political affairs and to elevate my status in Partai Rakyat. I was told specifically to work my way up in the Party and to talent spot suitable members for the Secret Organisation. I was told to control the 'X' Section at State level so that I could pass on the views and directions of the Secret Organisation; in this respect I was quite successful...."

45. This particular person has taken a major part in the militant activities of MPSF branches in Central Perak and claims to have carried a red flag during the 13 February 65 demonstration in Kuala Lumpur.

IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY BY CERTAIN POLITICAL PARTIES

46. As mentioned previously the 13 February 65 demonstration was the prototype for further similar demonstrations. About two hundred Perak MPSF (Malayan Peoples Socialist Front) officials and members were known to have participated in this demonstration. Directives were issued to convene meetings to analyse the demonstration, which was subsequently upheld as a "Socialist success" to be used as the basis for future mass struggle.

47. The Perak MPSF used to publish a monthly organ called the "Berita Rengkas." The various issues of this publication contained Communist United Front arguments and propaganda calling for the destruction of Malaysia and emphasising the necessity to adopt a more militant form of struggle.

49. Despite the Government's ban on public assemblies during the worst part of Confrontation, the LPM and PRM Perak, since early July 1965, have held more than twenty-five illegal public rallies and concerts. The intention of holding the illegal rallies and concerts was not only for the dissemination of Communist propaganda but was also to invite Police retaliation and thus to provoke clashes between the Police and members of the public.

50. The MPSF Perak achieved a degree of success when on three occasions during their illegal concerts, they managed to incite their members and supporters to clash with the Police. The last showdown with the Police was on 28 November 65 at Malim Nawar, and resulted in the death of a Committee member of the LPM Malim Nawar Branch.

51. The death of this Committee member was quickly exploited by the LPM Perak United Front cadres. Seditious pamphlets, accusing the Alliance Government of killing the Committee member, were distributed throughout the country and other LPM State Divisions were urged to hold protest meetings. On 7 January 66 Police arrested eleven of the leading agitators. Twelve others, however, escaped arrest and went into hiding, including a number of important Communist United Front cadres who had been mainly responsible for organising the militant form of mass struggle. They are still living underground.

52. Communist United Front workers ... continue to advocate a more militant form of struggle. They sent about seventy (of their) members ... to participate in a ten-minute anti-American demonstration in Kuala Lumpur on 8 March 66 during which the American International Assurance Building in Ampang Road was stoned. They also sent about one hundred members to participate in the "Aid Vietnam Against American Aggression" demonstration in Penang on 24 June 66.

53. Over forty illegal rallies, concerts and demonstrations of a militant nature have been held in Perak, Penang, Johore, Malacca, Selangor and Kedah during the last eighteen months.

55. The Government now wishes to state clearly that CPM penetration and influence within certain political parties has been neither haphazard nor indirect. On the contrary, the CPM has established for some time a system of direct contact with certain politicians.

56. These politicians, and others, have been invited to the Malaysian-Thai border area where they have been taken into the jungle and have undergone a "baptism of revolution."

58. Upon arrival, they were warmly received and entertained by the leaders of the CPM local organisations and were invited to take part in concerts and political forums. They were also taken round the Communist Terrorist armed units, and the armoury, and asked to read the CPM's propaganda materials such as the "Liberation News" issued by the MNLL and miscellaneous manifestoes. In addition, the CPM made use of the services of the local population in the area to bring food and drinks for its visitors. All these entertainments were designed to give a deep and lasting impression to its guests that there exists in the border area a "People's Armed Force," that there is "full co-operation between the Communists and the local populace" and that a "Liberated Area" has been established.

61. These "baptisms of revolution" are very much in line with CCP experience in Yen-an during the 1930s when it set up a university in the liberated area for training youths in United Front activity. It appears that the CPM, which has always drawn on CCP experience, is turning what it calls its "liberated areas" on the Malaysia-Thai border into another "Yen-an in miniature" so as to attract and influence Communist sympathisers in West Malaysia.

CONCLUSIONS

64. It is manifestly clear from the wealth of evidence disclosed in this White Paper that growing Communist militancy in Malaysia, and in the free countries of South-East Asia, is closely connected, and skilfully co-ordinated, with Communist aggression against the Republic of Vietnam. Thus, it is in this perspective that the revival of the militant Communist threat to West Malaysia should be studied.

65. Since the end of the First Emergency on 31 July 60 the Communist Party of Malaya has undergone a period of streamlining, retraining and reindoctrination. It has established a series of safe bases, or what it calls "liberated areas," along the Malaysian-Thai border and poses a major threat to the security of this country.

66. The CPM has a nucleus of between five and six hundred well-trained guerrillas and a reserve of about one thousand young men who are available for full time service if required. These people pose a straightforward military threat and clearly could be used aggressively should Peking so require. Moreover, the CPM may well take advantage of any deterioration in the political or military situation in South Vietnam to launch a renewed armed struggle in West Malaysia.

67. The recent outbreak of "militancy" within the Communist United Front, especially in Perak, is not the work of frustrated politicians with no avenues left for "constitutional struggle," but is carried out on the directions of the Communist Party of Malaya. These directives are conveyed by personal contact and through "baptisms of revolution" for politicians and others in jungle camps along the Malaysian-Thai Border.

68. Furthermore, the Communist exploitation of anti-American sentiments, encouragement of chauvinist feelings towards education and the National Language, and thinly disguised Communist approaches to unsophisticated kampong (neighborhood) folk are all part of the Communist plan to win support by fraudulent means from the people of this country. These campaigns are neither based on sound argument nor conducted for any altruistic motives but are operated with the single aim of furthering the Communist cause.

69. Aware that the people of this country have a right to be protected from blatant Communist subversion the Government considers the time has come to take preventive action now against all forms of illegal "militancy" and to put an end to these "baptisms of revolution."

April 7, 1966 THE REPORTER

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Singapore and Malaysia:

A Divorce of Inconvenience

CPYRGHT

DENIS WARNER

PORT SWETTENHAM, which serves Kuala Lumpur and its developing industrial satellite at Petaling Jaya, is poorly located and designed. Its berthing and turning operations are difficult, its shore installations confined, and it lacks the banking and insurance and other invisible but essential commercial machinery that have helped Singapore maintain its place as one of the world's great international seaports.

But Kuala Lumpur can no longer depend on Singapore. Its unrealistic expectation that things would get better after Singapore's expulsion from Malaysia last August has not been fulfilled. Relationships that were accepted as mutually convenient and expedient before the marriage have proved distasteful since the divorce. Thus, instead of restoring the status quo ante, which Tengku Abdul Rahman, the Malaysian Prime Minister, fondly hoped would be the case, the separation has only created new divisive trends. Instead of the collaboration that their joint and separate problems demand, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore have embarked on a form of competitive coexistence that is potentially disastrous, not merely to themselves but to all non-Communist interests in Southeast Asia.

Under the Barrier

Recently I visited Port Swettenham with some friends and a Malaysian Cabinet Minister and his wife. Inevitably, the conversation turned to some of the more pressing problems of the region. I had just come from Singapore, where the Lee Kuan Yew government, in urgent quest of means to cope with the unexpected economic burdens caused by its expulsion, had begun to take overt steps to resume its trade, specifically its barter trade, with Indonesia.

Before President Sukarno's policy of "confrontation" officially ended trading relationships, about a third

per cent of Indonesia's exports went to Singapore; next to the Malayan hinterland, Indonesia was also Singapore's best customer. Tongkangs that came laden with smallholders' rubber and other produce from the Indonesia archipelago went back bulging with consumer goods.

By adroit manipulation of ship registration, the flying of flags of convenience, and other means, the Singapore traders, in connivance with their partners in Indonesia, succeeded unofficially in slipping through some of the confrontation barriers, although the trade statistics in both countries were careful not to reveal the fact. Nevertheless, Singapore's total trade dropped from \$2.4 billion in 1960 to just over \$2 billion in 1964, a reverse that it could afford less than ever once its expectations of a Malaysian common market were dashed by its expulsion from the federation.

It then hoped, somewhat optimistically, to pick up trade worth between \$30 million and \$60 million a year by turning the island of Pulau Senang, a former penal colony some twelve miles from the main island of Singapore, into a barter center, with the proviso that the Indonesia traders would not have access to Singapore proper. They were to be confined to a narrow policed channel and were permitted to land only on designated and supervised stretches of the shore; they could remain only so long as it took to make their transactions before being ushered out through the same channel. As Singapore saw it, these precautions, coupled with increased naval patrols, would take care of Kuala Lumpur's fears that the trade might provide a cover for the smuggling of men and weapons into Malaysia.

But this was not the view of the Malaysian Cabinet Minister. He regarded Singapore's attempt to resume barter trade as a breach of the

that neither would enter into any treaty or agreement with any third country damaging to the interests of the other. From this point of departure, he assailed the Lee Kuan Yew government in the bitterest terms and outlined the measures Kuala Lumpur could take to bring it to its

knees. Pointing to the Port Swettenham wharves, he said, "We can build storage tanks here and divert all our shipments of latex and palm oil away from Singapore. We can do it and we will if Singapore behaves like this."

Since Malaya's rubber exports, which amount to about forty per cent of the world's supply, traditionally go through Singapore, such a diversion would indeed be a certain way of destroying the island's economic hopes. "If you were to do that," I said, "you would cause the economic collapse of Singapore and force a Communist take-over."

"I'd rather have the Communists than Lee Kuan Yew," said the Cabinet Minister. "We've dealt with the Communists once and can do it again. Lee Kuan Yew is worse than the Communists."

IN THE EVENT, Singapore's efforts to persuade the Indonesia barter traders to risk their necks along the policed corridor leading to Pulau Sedang have proved no more fruitful than its attempts to reassure Kuala Lumpur. Early in January, Tengku Abdul Rahman described the barter plan as a hostile act and said that Malaysia was prepared "to use peaceful methods" to stop such a move. "Singapore must realize the prosperity of Singapore very much depends on goods which come from here," he said.

On January 23, Tan Siew Sin, the Malaysian Finance Minister, said that a ministerial committee had made a special study of Singapore's separation from Malaysia and concluded that the export of Malaysia's rubber could be diverted from Singapore to ports on the mainland. As chairman of the committee, Tan told an interviewer: "A customs order on one sheet of paper would do the trick. If it came to a push I think we could stop every pound of rubber from going to Singapore."

not be car-

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ried out that easily. Nor is there any real likelihood, as Tan made clear in a subsequent statement, that it will be translated into action. Still, as symbols of the deteriorating relationship between these two interdependent states whose association once promised hopes of stability in the southern tier of Southeast Asia, the barter controversy and the Port Swettenham threat are painfully apposite.

Typical of these new divisive trends was an even more bitter quarrel that developed in February, when the Second Battalion of the Singapore infantry regiment that had been serving in Borneo as part of the multinational Malaysian security forces returned home after completing its tour of duty. Instead of returning to their permanent quarters, however, the Singaporean troops were obliged to pitch tents because Kuala Lumpur's Royal Malaysian battalion, stationed in Singapore under the terms of the separation agreement, refused to vacate the Singapore battalion's barracks until the Singapore government provided suitable alternative accommodations.

The controversy raised immediate fears in Singapore that Kuala Lumpur was trying to turn the island into a Malaysian satellite. In Kuala Lumpur the reaction was that Singapore was trying to break the separation agreement, which in turn raised new fears in Singapore that Kuala Lumpur might be tempted to use military force if Singapore pursued economic and political policies of which it disapproved. Fortunately wiser counsels eventually prevailed, and in mid-March it was announced that Singapore had agreed to find alternative accommodation for the Malaysian battalion in exchange for the return of defense equipment that Malaysia had been holding.

The Hazards of Separation

In retrospect, it is easy to see that Lee Kuan Yew's vigorous, even ruthless, approach that proved so necessary and so effective in the malodorous Singapore political scene

could not have been translated into the conservative councils of Kuala Lumpur without provoking personal as well as political animosities. While Singapore remained a member of the federation, however, even the most violent personal clashes precipitated by Lee's intellectual superiority, arrogance, and drive were confined to the family circle. Today, the causes for conflict not only remain but have been exacerbated and raised to the level of international quarrels. If Kuala Lumpur had used force to bend Singapore to its will a year ago, there would have been a storm, but it would have remained an internal matter. Today such an act would be an act of war.

In a more equable political climate, the recognition of the hazards that separation has raised for both territories would have led to expedient co-operation on vital issues. To expect such pragmatism in Southeast Asia, however, is utopian to begin with, and in the case of Singapore and Kuala Lumpur, it underestimates the antagonism that divides the two ruling elites. They are set on courses which may not lead to collision but which threaten to foment the mutually undesirable conditions that Kuala Lumpur hoped to avoid first by merger and later by separation.

To Singapore, Malaysia meant above all a common market. "One of the most compelling factors why we went into Malaysia was because we wanted the broader base, so that industrialization and capital accumulation could take place with less sacrifice," Lee Kuan Yew told a Singapore audience. Singapore's contribution of forty per cent of its revenue to the federal budget was the price it had to pay for an outlet for the productive energies and industrial skills of its population, which is expanding by four per cent a year.

But separation resulted in the imposition of immediate trade and tariff barriers. Although it clearly had the most to lose in any trade war, Singapore was first off the mark

with the imposition of duties and quotas on manufactured goods coming from Malaya in competition with its own industries. Manufacturers in Malaya ruefully began to think of suspending operations that had been initiated only on the assumption that Singapore's more active market would be freely available.

UNDER strong commercial pressures in both Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, the two governments agreed last September 8 to remove quota restrictions on trade across the causeway that links Singapore with the Malay peninsula. Hope rose high on October 8 when the Singapore government announced that all obstacles to trade between Singapore and Malaysia would be eliminated immediately by the lifting of the licensing and quantitative restrictions on commodities contained in the common market list drawn up by the two countries.

These hopes were soon disappointed. The following day, Kuala Lumpur announced new tariffs to protect Malaysian manufacturers. Forty-eight hours later, Singapore replied with its own list of some 150 protective duties on goods manufactured in numerous foreign countries but also in Malaya.

Singapore went on to pass the National Reregistration Act, which is designed to classify all residents of Singapore as citizens or non-citizens. Since many thousands of Singapore's inhabitants have only the vaguest idea where they were born and even more frequently are unable to produce the documentary proof required, the task is more formidable than the government anticipated. But the desired result—the creation of the machinery to exclude Malaysians from Singapore citizenship, and also from the Singapore labor market, except where they possess useful professional, technical, or commercial skills—is likely to be achieved.

The Singapore government has no intention of throwing out Malay-

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sians already established families, but it is determined to halt the flow of thousands of Malaysian migrants into the island. Since the specter of rising unemployment constantly haunts the government, this restriction on immigration may be prudent, but it is also another of the many steps that have led the two states to move further and further apart.

The Need for a Common Market

High commodity prices, a seemingly assured world appetite for tin, and a continued demand for rubber have helped to maintain Malaya's prosperity at a level that must seem to reflect an excessive abundance of riches to most of its Asian neighbors. Yet the tin reserves are limited, and rubber, despite the efficiency of the Malayan plantations and extensive replanting of high-yielding stocks, faces increasing competition from synthetics. The need to industrialize is fully appreciated in Kuala Lumpur, and the first post-separation budget was a deliberate invitation to foreign capital interested in industrial development. There is little likelihood, however, that such investments will be forthcoming in the degree that the country's needs dictate. "The simple truth is that without a Singapore-Malaysia common market there can be no industrialization worth speaking of," said an unusually frank editorial in the *Straits Times*, which is published in both Singapore and Kuala Lumpur. "It can only be hoped that the ill-conceived trial of strength which has been inaugurated will quickly convince the contestants of their individual puniness, and of the great need they have for co-operation." It has not done so.

The Tengku occasionally talks of what may be if Singapore "has a change of heart," and Tan Siew Sin in his Malaysian budget did not rule out the participation of Singapore in a common market, though he insisted that there would have to be a substantial, though unstated, quid pro quo. For their part, the Singapore leaders have indicated that they are not interested in taxation without representation.

After separation, two of Singapore's senior Cabinet Ministers visited

and other nearby Asian countries. One result was that Russian and Yugoslav trade missions agreed to visit Singapore. With one offshore island reserved for the highly contentious and evanescent barter trade, the Singapore government also plans to turn another into a tourist playground, complete with dog tracks and "massage parlors."

No one pretends that barter, Russian trade, or the encouragement of offshore vice is going to solve Singapore's economic problems. Between 15,000 and 25,000 new jobs must be provided every year. Dr. Goh Keng Swee, who moved from Finance to Defense after separation, says that over the next five years this goal will require the setting up of about two hundred factories, each employing about two hundred to 250 workers and producing two hundred different products. Singapore will then need a .002 per cent share of the market of the United States, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. If the western powers are not prepared to open their domestic markets to industrial goods from Singapore, he claims, the island's unemployment situation will get out of control and open the door for pro-Communists to win power in Singapore through free elections.

WHILE Singapore will settle for trade, Malaysia wants aid. In his budget speech last November, Tan Siew Sin mentioned \$330 million in foreign loans and \$300 million in foreign aid and grants. Tun Razak, Malaysia's Deputy Prime Minister and the Tengku's announced heir, subsequently raised the direct-aid ante to more than \$600 million. "Thus, more and more, a sense of unreality pervades the Singapore-Malaysian economic and political scene," the *Far Eastern Economic Review* commented. "It is hard to see the two countries approaching the West with great success."

One of the more melancholy aspects of the situation in both states is that the government in Kuala Lumpur reflects the best hopes of the British colonial administration of a decade ago; the Singapore government, though different from anything anyone planned, is also better

der control in the mid-1950's, the British worked to create a Malayan government that would be conservative and predominantly Malay and that would be willing and able to co-operate with the leading members of the Chinese community, who were likewise conservative. This is precisely what has been achieved.

As the Singapore leaders are well aware, any conceivable alternative in Kuala Lumpur at the present would be much worse. If the Malay ultras ever get their hands on the Malaysian government, there will be no more racial unity, and the Malayan National Liberation League, which has now established its headquarters in Peking, will find few obstacles to fomenting a new war of national liberation.

In Singapore the alternative to Lee Kuan Yew and the People's Action Party is Communism. With the collapse of the extreme left-wing Barisan Sosialis Party, the official opposition, Singapore has become, however temporarily, a one-party state. Its real opposition, the Communist Party, is outlawed. Even in the present circumstances, however, the Communists could probably command close to thirty per cent of the popular vote. If economic hopes are not realized, or if the newly created Family Planning and Population Board fails in its ambitious goal of cutting the birth rate from about sixty thousand to thirty thousand annually, it scarcely seems possible that the People's Action Party can remain in power.

THERE is a chance that the Communist alternative can be avoided. The Tengku and Lee Kuan Yew met in Singapore for a golf match and informal dinner on March 21—their first encounter since secession. The Tengku also invited Lee to bring a golf team to Kuala Lumpur for a match with Malayan government members. This is his customary way of approaching difficult problems, and it is not impossible that a compromise may be worked out at the nineteenth hole. In other parts of Southeast Asia, the complexity of the problems often defies solution. In the Singapore-Kuala Lumpur feud, there is nothing that could be worked out by common sense.

TIME, NOVEMBER 4, 1966

MALAYSIA

CPYRGHT

Looking for an Angel

Malaysia is what South Viet Nam hopes to be a decade from now: a bustling little land that survived twelve vicious years of internal assault by Communist guerrillas and has gone on to achieve one of the highest standards of living in Asia. Until recently, Malaysians could look forward to continued progress. Now a cloud has fallen over their future. The reason is the sudden reduction in Britain's role as Malaysia's longtime financial angel and protector. With the end of the external threat from nearby Indonesia, Britain is withdrawing its 10,000-man military force, and has put Malaysia on notice that some \$200 million in economic and military aid will not be forthcoming.

As Malaysians prepared last week to greet President Johnson, they were hoping that the U.S. would fill the gap left by the departing British. Even before leaving on his trip, the President took measures to reassure the Malaysians. He ordered a reduction in U.S. sales of stockpiled rubber in order to bolster the price and thus help Malaysia, which supplies one-third of the world's rubber. U.S. aid officials were also studying requests for at least a modest amount of economic aid to support Malaysia's ambitious five-year development program, which would suffer if funds were diverted to a defense buildup to replace departing British troops.

Leftover Terrorists. Malaysia can state a compelling case for assistance. Its location—spreading from the Borneo rain forests across the South China Sea to the pleasant Malay highlands—gives it an importance in the security of Asia. The handsome capital of Kuala Lumpur is alive with new autos, motor bikes and eager shoppers; outside the city, 140 new factories have sprung up, and 50 more are under construction.

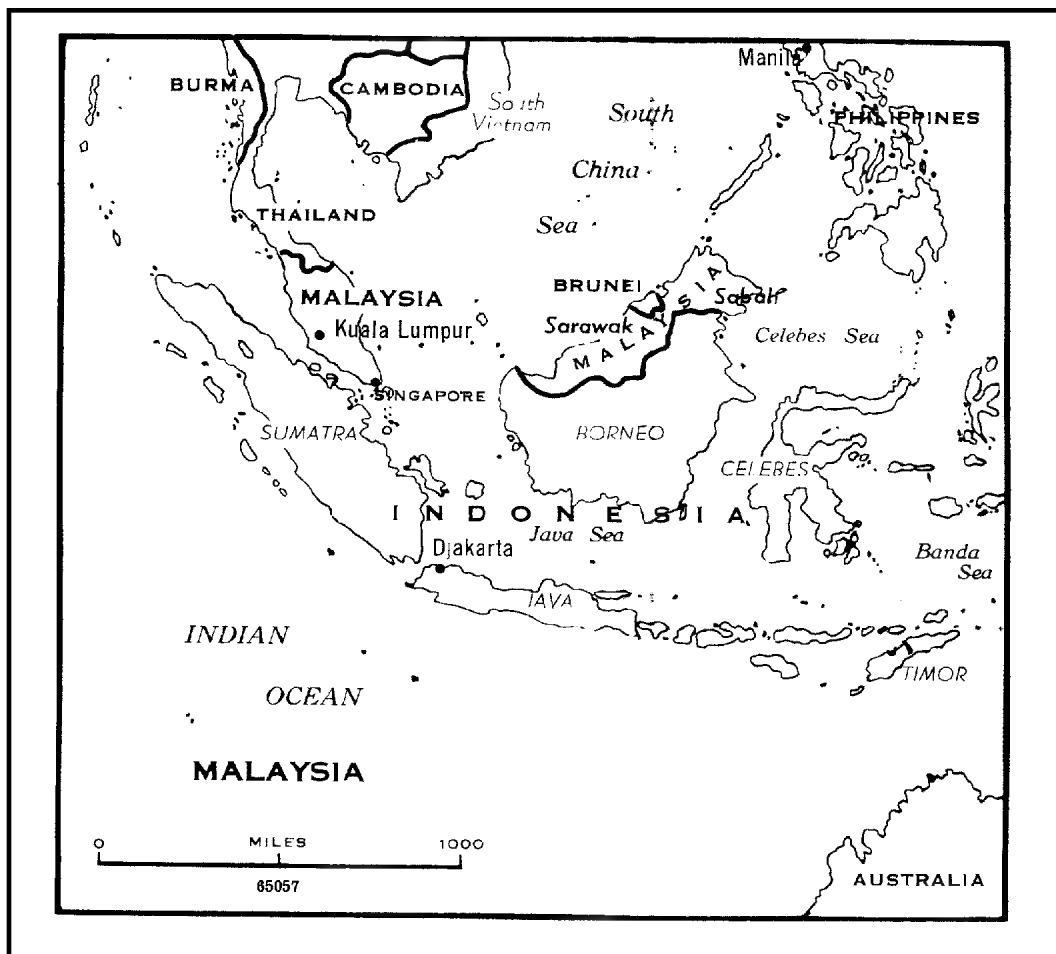
With his development scheme, Deputy Premier Tun Abdul Razak is conducting his own Johnson-style "assault on poverty," which among other things has opened 200,000 acres of new farmland to 30,000 settlers. Since its founding in 1963, Malaysia has raised the G.N.P. of its 9.2 million people by an annual average of 7%.

Still, Malaysia is by no means free from troubles. In the isthmus near Thailand hide some 600 Communist guerrillas, leftovers from the Communist-inspired civil war that ended in 1960. Others are clustered along the border in Borneo and sometimes fight alongside Indonesian raiders, who apparently have still not got the message that *konfrontasi* has ended.

The federation itself is fragile. Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman knitted four former British colonies into a multiracial, multiculture conglomerate. But he has been less successful in holding his creation together. Fearful that Singapore's industrious Chinese might overshadow his own easygoing Malays, Abdul Rahman last year expelled the island state from the federation.

Unifying Influence. The Tunku has also provoked bitterness in the Borneo states of Sarawak and Sabah, where the inhabitants, chiefly Chinese and reformed head-hunters of the Dyak and Iban tribes, resent his insistence on Malay supremacy. Fanning the resentment is a constitutional clause that calls for Malay to become the federation's sole official language by 1967. The Borneo states might break away except for one important consideration: the development aid that the Tunku's government dispenses. That, of course, is the major reason why Malaysians feel that they must find someone to pick up the tab that Britain no longer wants.

CPYRGHT



19 December 1966

Federation of Malaysia - a member of the UN and Commonwealth in South-east Asia; came into being September 16, 1963, following 2 years of negotiations and a formal agreement with Great Britain signed July 9, 1963, consenting to relinquish sovereignty over Singapore, Sarawak (on Borneo) and Sabah (North Borneo) to permit them to federate with the existing independent Federation of Malaya. Brunei, a small British-protected sultanate on northern Borneo, withdrew during negotiations over a question of precedence. Formation was opposed by Indonesia and the Philippines, but a UN inspection team's survey of North Borneo (Sabah) and Sarawak showed popular support for the merger. Indonesia harassed the nation with guerrilla action, 1963-65.

Malaysia was defined as a constitutional, parliamentary monarchy comprised of the nine hereditary sultanates of the Federation of Malaya, independent since 1957 -- Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Negri Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Perlis, Selangor and Trengganu -- the two former British Straits settlements of Penang and Malacca, and the former British colonies of Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo (renamed Sabah).

But on August 9, 1965, Singapore announced its separation from the Federation, under an agreement between Malaysia and Singapore officials that it was the best way to end tensions between the Chinese, largest ethnic group in Singapore and in the Federation, and the Malays, 2nd largest group, who were in control of the Federation government.

Malaysia's population, before Singapore's separation, was composed of: Malays and closely related groups, 40%; Chinese, 42%; Indians and Pakistanis, 10%; others, 8%. With Singapore's departure, the Malays became the ethnic majority in Malaysia, with ethnic Chinese totaling over a third of the population.

On August 9, 1965 the Government of Malaysia announced that terms had been agreed upon with the Malaysian State of Singapore for the separation of Singapore from the Federation of Malaysia.

Malaysian Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman thought that Malayan predominance should be maintained indefinitely with adequate provisions for safeguarding the rights of other races (i.e., the Chinese).

Singapore's Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, held that the special status of the Malays should be guaranteed only for a specific interim period, after which time there would be neither special privileges or special restrictions for any race. Disagreements between the two leaders on this issue were exacerbated by their personal antagonisms and by failure to agree on the distribution of territorial revenues. The severed sections immediately began attempts to undercut one another in the foreign trade field (see the Denis Warner article also attached).

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The Meaning of "Black Power"

JAMES E. JACKSON

NEW TIMES ★

FROM the Montgomery, Alabama, Bus Boycott which the Reverend Martin Luther King led in 1956 to the Freedom March through Mississippi which James Meredith initiated on June 5 this year, the struggle of Negro Americans to secure their citizenship rights to full political, economic and social equality has been the most visible battle banner on the frontier of social progress in our country for a decade.

Enormous energy has been expended in great actions of Negroes and their white supporters in dramatizing the demands for equality and freedom and for an end to segregation and discrimination. In these struggles men, women and youth of the Negro freedom movement have made many sacrifices: scores have been martyred, thousands have been imprisoned, schools, churches and homes have been bombed.

When contrasted with the situation that prevailed a decade ago, the Negro freedom movement can take justifiable pride in the significant gains which its militant struggle has forced the ruling class to yield. However, when measured against the rights which white Americans take for granted as their birthright, and when weighed against the suffering and sacrifices exacted in the last decade of hard-fought battles, the advances which Negro Americans have made towards the goal of equality and freedom have indeed been insubstantial.

All of the key indices of their special oppression remain as before: Negroes are the most disfranchised politically, the most jobless and underemployed economically; in terms of social well-being, they are the most deprived—ill-housed, medically uncared for, educationally and culturally denied; their dignity as human beings is constantly vio-

lated by anti-Negro slurs and defamation, by the practices and precepts of the doctrine of white racist supremacy.

After a decade of pragmatic pursuit of obvious objectives essential for the attainment of a status of equality with all other citizens, the need for a summing-up of experience and the definition of a theory of Negro freedom as an aid and guide to the further development of the movement has become a matter of concern to the leadership.

The catch-phrase or slogan of Black Power has emerged as a rather sensationalized by-product of the new endeavours of Negro leadership to formulate a strategic and tactical pattern of guide-lines, to elaborate a theory of the advance of the Negro freedom movement.

The primary use of the term Black Power was in connection with the campaigns to boost the registration by Negroes for the right to vote. It was also used to describe the consequence of Negroes withholding their purchasing power against stores which discriminated against them; it was used to describe the potential power of the economic boycott in the tactical armoury of the local Negro community.

Stokely Carmichael, President of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, put the phrase Black Power into sloganized form during speeches on the 260-mile Meredith Mississippi Freedom March. In doing so, he was seeking to generalize certain positive experience of the Lowndes County, Alabama, Freedom Organization, which had fielded an all-Negro (Black Panther) party in the local elections this year. His central emphasis was that Negroes should not hesitate to utilize situations where they are forced into a separated majority of the pop-

ulation "to grasp the political power in those areas where Negroes predominate." Elaborating on this particular concept behind the phrase Black Power, the Mississippi Free-

dom Democratic Party leader, Mrs. Victoria Gray, said in a press interview: "The MFDP is interested in consolidating a base of power in the black community. This is our concern. But we are not interested basically in colour—and we have said this in our campaign. Our interest is in changing the political and the economic system of this entire state and this ultimately involves white people as well as blacks. But this does not have to be a contradiction with the SNCC concept of Black Power."

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In a declaration printed as an ad broadside in the *New York Times* of July 31, a National Committee of Negro Churchmen issued a statement on Black Power signed by prominent Negro clergymen of major denomination. They put it that "powerlessness breeds a race of beggars... A more equal sharing of power is precisely what is required as the precondition of authentic human interaction..."

What the "disinherited" must have, the clergymen pointed out, was an increased "capacity to participate with power—i. e., to have some organized political and economic strength to really influence people with whom one interacts..." They declared, further, that "Negroes need power in order to participate more effectively at all levels of the life of our nation."

Essentially, there is general agreement among Negro spokesmen today that the chant "Black Power" is reflective of a determination on the part of the Negro Freedom Movement to build up a maximum strength of united action in all situations in which Negroes are the preponderant number in the total, to create local bases of political power and economic strength and thereby transform their isolated ghettos into

positions of influence, of Black Power.

This aspect of the concept of Black Power corresponds very much to what was stated in the resolution on the Negro question of the Communist Party. The Communist Party's statement on the Negro question, adopted at its Seventeenth Convention in 1959 and reaffirmed and amplified at the Eighteenth Convention this June, said:

"Negro Americans are determined to build ever closer their unity in order to wage the struggle even more militantly to break down all remaining barriers to their exercise of any and all political, economic and social rights enjoyed by other citizens.

"The great masses of Negroes unite not in order to separate themselves from the life of the country. They unite to more effectively employ the strength of their own numbers and the weight of their alliances with other parts of the population to level all barriers to their fullest integration into all aspects of the economic, political and social life of the American people as a whole. They are forging an internal unity to facilitate their struggle for integration as free and equal American citizens."

And several years in advance of the current concern with this aspect of the problem of the movement, the Communist Party thus formulated its position:

"The Negro people in the United States must secure their rightful share of governmental power. In those urban and rural communities where they are the larger part of the population generally, and in the deep South areas where they are the larger part of the population particularly, they must constitute the majority power in government.

"In its essence, therefore, the struggle for the rights of the Negro people is not merely a 'civil rights' fight, it is a political struggle for the power to secure and safeguard the freedom of a people....

"It is a struggle for a just share of representation nationally; it is a struggle for majority rule in those localities where Negroes are the dominant people in the population."

The Communist Party has long recognized that the struggle to create the conditions for the Negro people to exercise the power in the areas of their majority is an important part of the true programme for Negro freedom. Yet, this does not and cannot satisfy the requirements of the whole of the Negro people. In terms of the country as a whole, Negro Americans are more often than not cast in a minority situation; therefore, the fight to guarantee fullest protection and enforcement of the equal rights of the minority is no less important to the cause of Negro freedom. Also, the struggle against prejudice and racist practices and the fortification and enforcement of an adequate body of law against victimization and discrimination of individuals because of race and colour remains an important part of the programme for fulfilling the rights of the Negro people. Indeed, the absence of prejudice means a Negro should enjoy the right to fill any position which he or she is capable of, regardless of the proportion of Negroes in the given situation.

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The perspective and struggle to establish Black Power bases of local political control in the deep South and metropolitan slums of the North ought not to be confused with any notions of Negro exclusiveness or political isolationism.

Such Black Power positions of strength would prove useful to a total strategy for Negro freedom, only insofar as they enhanced the capability of the Negro movement to consummate more favourable alliance relations with comparably disadvantaged and objectively "anti-establishment" classes and forces among the white population. The mass of Negroes who are poor and working-class have no choice but to

seek to effect alliances with the comparably disadvantaged whites who are exploited by the ruling class of monopolist interests which dominate the society.

Black Power of itself is not and cannot be sufficient to overcome the tyranny of the power of the monopoly capitalists. There is the power behind Negro enslavement as well as working-class exploitation in the final analysis. There is the power that stands astride the path of progress towards freedom for the Negro people and social advance for the nation. To win significant victories from it will require not only the maximum united action of the Negro people but Negro and white working-class unity in allied and co-ordinated struggle against the common oppressor and in behalf of the common goals of the poor and the exploited.

The National Committee of Negro Churchmen gave an excellent expression of this strategic necessity of seeking a fighting alliance relationship with social forces in the population who are objectively "going our way" in order to fashion the scale of power required to win. They said: "We must organize not only among ourselves but with other groups in order that we can, together, gain power sufficient to change this nation's sense of what is now important and what must be done now.... We and all other Americans are one. Our history and destiny are indissolubly linked. If the future is to belong to any of us, it must be prepared for all of us, whatever our racial or religious backgrounds.... We are persons and the power of all groups must be wielded to make visible our common humanity."

There are other concepts associated with the discussion about Black Power which are of significance to the further development of the practical activity of the movement as well as relating to the theory of the freedom movement.

One of these is the concept of the

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re-establishment of Negro hegemony over the leadership of all major departments of the Negro freedom movement. This is a demand for a new quality to Negro-white relations within the Negro freedom movement; it demands an end to all paternalistic and privileged assumptions on the part of white participants in the Negro freedom movement. Which is to say, that the white supporters of the movement must display sensitivity and not arrogate to themselves roles of super-advisers to the leadership as the price for their participation. Also, the leadership of such organizations as SNCC and the Congress on Racial Equality have called for a greater respect for the mores of the Negro community on the part of white workers in the movement, in order not to affront or violate the dignity of those very people with whom they join, for, indeed, a vital part of that which the oppressed fight for is human dignity. In general, these organizations have called upon their white supporters to make their first concentration work in the working-class areas of the adjacent white communities.

Especially do the Negro leaders now challenge the organized labour movement to make their support to the cause of Negro freedom more visible and more substantial in terms of policing their own union areas of influence and authority for ending discriminatory practices in employment, housing, upgrading, apprenticeship and other training programmes, and election to union office. Above all, Negro leaders demand of the labour leaders that they carry through the long-awaited task of undertaking the organization of the unorganized Southern workers, Negro and white, of factory and farm.

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Another question which has been given widespread discussion in connection with the dialogue on the theory and practice of the Negro freedom movement which the Black

Power issue triggered has been that of the effect of the foreign policy of the government upon the goals of the Negro people.

Never before have so substantial a section of the Negro leadership come out in vigorous opposition to a war in which the U.S. government is engaged. In the past, individual Negro leaders have opposed various foreign policies and particular acts of aggression by the government, but never before have entire organizations of the Negro people—as is the case in respect to SNCC and CORE—come out in unequivocal denunciation of a war in which a high proportion of Negro soldiers have been impressed to kill and be killed. In addition to Carmichael and McKissick, leaders of SNCC and CORE respectively, the Nobel Peace Prize winner and best known Negro leader, Rev. Martin Luther King, has come out against the war which the Johnson government is waging in Vietnam. The resistance to support for Johnson's genocidal war against the people of Vietnam is disclosed in the growing number of Negro youth who defy the draft boards, the army induction centres, and in the number of Negro soldiers in the U.S. armed forces stockades in Vietnam for resisting serving on "hunt and kill" missions against the people of Vietnam.

Carmichael, McKissick, King and others have raised the banner of anti-imperialist solidarity between the Negroes of the U.S. and the victims of U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, as well as African and Latin-American countries, as a vital strategy for uniting the cause of Negro freedom with the interest of the majority of mankind. They have pointed out that for the American Negro to adopt a position of support to U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war would be to isolate themselves from the overwhelming majority of mankind. This represents not only a meaningful contribution of Negro

Americans to the growing power of the world front to force the U.S. government to quit Vietnam but also represents a new depth of comprehension of the true nature of the social and class forces within the country and the world arena on the part of an important sector of the Negro freedom movement. It has demonstrated by its opposition to the Vietnam war that it associates the destiny of the just cause of Negro freedom with the main social tendency of our epoch.

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Seeking sensations and fostering all opportunities for divisionism and conflict among the component sections of the Negro freedom movement and between Negro and white, the press and television have been waving the phrase Black Power before the eyes of the nation with alarming interpretations. It is represented as a black nationalist answer to white supremacy and as the doctrine for a ghetto rising of blacks against whites in the great cities of the country.

The ideological provocateurs of the press find some encouragement for their sensationalizing of parodies of concepts about the Black Power phrase in some speeches and articles of certain Negro spokesmen who sometimes endow the two words with powers that they cannot and should not possess. At times, they even suggest that by uniting their own strength Negroes can go it alone, by virtue of the fact that they would "control" politically the central cities of a score of metropolitan centres of the country. What these poorly informed speakers and demagogic commentators like the *Liberator Magazine's* editorial writer forget, or don't know, is the actual nature of the "power structure" in this country: the corporate elite of monopolists whose power over the Congress, the White House and the Pentagon rests on the solid material base of de facto ownership of the vast majority of the whole economy.

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In responding to the atrocities of the police against the Negro marchers struggling to push back the walls of their ghettos to enlarge the living space and secure some job opportunities, some speakers have suggested that Negroes could organize their own policing system to counter the violence of the racists and the police.

The concept of self-defence is a well-established practice in life on the part of American working people; furthermore, it is given official sanction in the U.S. Constitution. The right of the Negro community or of an individual Negro citizen to armed self-defence in face of wanton assault by mobsters, racists, or other lawless elements is one of the manhood rights of citizens of this country and does not need the advocacy of anyone.

The fact that circumstances have prevailed where Negroes have been abandoned to mob terror by law enforcement authorities, and indeed in many situations the officers of the law, sheriffs and policemen have themselves committed the "deeds most foul," does not make the responsibility of the Federal government any less for the protection of the lives and property of Negroes.

Negroes have defended themselves in the past and will do so in the future against racist violence, but their demand remains for the government to discharge its duty to safeguard the lives and property of all of its citizens in the exercise of their constitutional rights.

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The widespread discussion which has developed about the several interpretations of the cry of Black Power, which was raised by marchers on the walk from Memphis to Jackson last June, is part of a seeking for sound theory to illuminate the pathway of progress for the Negro freedom movement.

The Communist Party has already made important contributions in elaborating theoretical problems and strategic concepts of the Negro free-

dom movement. As the leadership of the mass movement now addresses itself to the problem of historic direction and relationship of the Negro people's cause to the goals of peace and the change of the system of society itself, the Communists will continue to make key contributions.

We fully support the struggle of the Negro people to secure the power required to free themselves from racist tyranny, economic exploitation and social discrimination. At the same time, we point out that the struggle for winning freedom has to be waged in more areas than just those situations in which Negroes constitute the majority.

It is necessary to win broad strata of the white masses to an active participation in the struggle for the freedom rights of the Negro people. On the basis of mutual advantage and advanced self-interest, it is necessary and possible to establish a fighting partnership between the Negro freedom movement and the organized labour movement, and with various organized categories of the population who are victimized by the monopolists' establishment.

Negro Americans, being overwhelmingly working people, are victimized by class exploitation; the racist deprivation and discrimination which they suffer are part of the systematic super-exploitation and robbery practised in accord with the laws of the system upon the most underprivileged part of the nation's working people, the Negro people.

Therefore, the struggle of the Negro people for freedom can be viewed as a specialized part of the general class struggle of the jobless and working poor against the reign of the monopolists—the working class against the capitalist class. The struggle for Negro freedom which rages these days in the streets of the great cities as well as along the rural roads is part of the revolutionary processes which are rending the old social system beyond repair.

New York
September

WHAT THE NEGRO HAS—AND HAS NOT—GAINED

THE new factor in U.S. race relations and politics that has come to be known as backlash is more than merely the reaction of some white people to Negro rioting or cries of "black power." The attitude of many white Americans is influenced by the belief that the Negro has made great gains in a relatively short time, and that he now would do better to stop agitating and consolidate what he has won. At the same time, much of the new black militancy is a result of frustration over what many Negroes consider their snail's pace of progress. Beneath the passion and the rhetoric, these two opposing views pose a root question about the state of the Negro in the U.S. today: just what advances have—and have not—been made by the nation's 21 million Negroes?

The fact is that Negroes have progressed farther and faster than any minority in the history of the U.S., or almost any other nation. Considering that the drive for full equality did not really begin until after World War II and did not achieve the sanction of law until the Supreme Court struck down the old "separate but equal" doctrine in 1954, the gains have been nothing less than remarkable. Though whites still earn far more than Negroes (\$7,170 per family compared with \$3,971), Negro income has risen 24% since 1960 v. only 14% for whites. Today, just over one in five Negro families earns more than \$7,000 yearly, a figure that puts them firmly in the middle class. The Negro has enthusiastically participated in the U.S.'s steadily increasing material prosperity: nine out of ten Negro families own one (or more) television sets, two-thirds have automatic washers and more than half own cars. Negroes own 50,000 businesses and, while most of them are small groceries, beauty parlors or mortuaries, the nation has about 40 Negro millionaires and many thousands who are more than comfortably affluent.

Practically all of the gains have been made by the growing Negro middle class, which still constitutes a minority of the Negro population. That is the heart of the problem, for it leaves behind the lower-income, semiliterate Negroes, notably the families that are below the Government's \$3,000-a-year poverty line. This class contains 60% of all the nation's Negro youths, the very people who are in the vanguard of desire and disorder. While the income of the middle-class Negro rises, that of this great mass of Negroes is actually declining. During the 1960s, median family income for Negroes has dropped from \$3,897 to \$3,803 in Los Angeles' Watts, from \$4,346 to \$3,729 in Cleveland's Hough district.

This great disparity has created a profound hostility between the low-income Negro and his more affluent, well-educated, middle-class brother. Demoralized, alienated and apathetic, the slum Negro is bitterly jealous of those he scornfully calls "white niggers." The middle-class Negro, on the other hand, is troubled by the riots and the chants of "black power," which he knows hurt his cause. The gulf between the two is widened by the fact that the better-off Negro tends to demonstrate too little concern for those he has left behind. Almost alone among all U.S. ethnic groups, Negroes have no significant charity supported by their own people for their own people. The number of Negroes on the public-welfare rolls is increasing, and one-third of the nation's spending for public aid, education and housing (or an estimated \$3.5 billion in all) goes to Negroes, who constitute only 11% of the U.S. population.

Most of the Government's new antipoverty programs are directed toward the 2,800,000 poor Negro families. In many ways, they get more attention than the 9,100,000 poor white families, which are tucked away in such areas as the Appalachians and the Ozarks, the southern Piedmont, the Upper Great Lakes region and the Louisiana coastal plain. Half the people in the Job Corps and most of the preschoolers in the

both whites and Negroes—about 3½% a year—but the Negro seems to have made more dramatic gains because he had greater ground to make up. The proportion of poor families among Negroes fell from 52.2% in 1959 to 43.1% in 1964, while that among whites declined from 20.7% to 17.1%. The Government figures that if all Negroes could be brought up to the average white American's level of affluence, employment and education, the U.S. economy's output would climb by \$27 billion a year, equal to 4% of the gross national product.

It is almost academic to ask what the Negro wants. He wants what the white man has. To him, that means not only possessions but opportunity and options. It means a fair shot at the necessities of jobs, education and housing, as well as at the intangibles of political power, social acceptance and a sense of pride. How much of that has he gained? Here is a balance sheet of the Negro's recently acquired assets and his persistent liabilities, compiled from material gathered by 30 TIME correspondents throughout the U.S.:

JOBS. The employment situation has become incomparably better for the middle-class Negro and worse for the lower-class Negro. While unemployment among whites has been declining this year and is now 3.3%, Negro unemployment has been climbing and is now 7.8%. This is primarily because the jobless rate in many black slums has soared to 25% and automation has eliminated a lot of menial and manual jobs traditionally held by lower-income Negroes. The overall figure nonetheless conceals the fact that countless job opportunities have opened for skilled and semiskilled Negroes in the past few years.

Negro employment in the professional and technical fields has soared 130% in the past decade; the number of Negro lawyers has increased 50% since 1950. In the South, well-educated Negroes are being hired for the first time as clerks, policemen, nurses in white hospitals and teachers in white schools. Boston's Negro newspaper has six pages of want ads for everybody from laboratory technicians to plasma physicists. In Milwaukee, Chicago and Providence, corporations have joined together to seek ways of finding more Negro workers and executive trainees; in Minneapolis, Omaha and San Francisco, corporate recruiters flock to interview thousands of Negroes at "job fairs." A dozen recently created personnel agencies specialize in Negroes, and almost every Negro graduate with a good college record can count on from three to twelve job offers.

Of course, discrimination is still far from eliminated. Some employment agencies, for example, use codes to alert prospective employers that the applicant is a Negro. The most unyielding barriers to the Negro's advancement are put up not by corporations but by the craft unions, which are so biased that it is easier for a Negro to become a physician or junior manager than an electrician or a plumber. A recent Labor Department survey showed that in Baltimore there were no Negro apprentices among the steam fitters, sheet-metal workers or plumbers; in Newark, none among the stonemasons, structural ironworkers or steam fitters; in Pittsburgh, none among the operating engineers, painters or lathers; in Washington, none among the glaziers, sheet-metal workers or asbestos workers.

Largely because of union bars, the incredible fact is that since 1957 the number of Negroes at work in the U.S. private economy has scarcely increased at all. The number of Negro jobholders has risen from 6,721,000 to 7,747,000 during that period, but the gains have been primarily in Government jobs. Negroes hold 23% of the city jobs in New York, 30% in Cleveland, 40% in Philadelphia. At the federal level, 13.2% of the jobs are held by Negroes. Negroes sit in the U.S. Cabinet and on the Federal Reserve Board, act

as postmasters of two major cities (Los Angeles and Chicago), six are U.S. marshals, and one is a U.S. district judge. In the armed forces, the number of Negro field-grade officers (major through colonel) has jumped since 1962 from 769 to 1,319.

EDUCATION. While still appreciably behind the whites, Negroes have made impressive gains in education, particularly at the college level. Outnumbered by white students 30 to 1, they have raised their numbers in colleges and universities to 225,000—far greater than the total enrollments of the universities of Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland and Switzerland put together. Almost all the Southern universities now have some Negroes. Admissions officers at such universities as California and Stanford give preference to Negroes; like many other schools, Harvard often chooses Negroes over whites with equivalent academic records. So many scholarships are being offered that almost any talented, energetic Negro youngster can get into college.

For the Negro who never gets to the college level, things are considerably bleaker. In a recent study of 650,000 children, the U.S. Office of Education reported that, compared with whites, the average Negro child actually attends newer schools and has newer textbooks but is less likely to have modern scientific equipment or competent teachers. The Negro needs good teachers even more than whites because of greater deprivation in his family background. Eighth-graders in Negro slum schools, for example, commonly read at sixth-grade levels. The IQ of the average Harlem pupil drops from 90.6 in the third grade to 87.7 in the eighth grade. An extraordinary 67.5% of all Negroes fail the armed forces' pre-induction mental tests (v. 18.8% of the whites).

Four out of five U.S. students attend schools that are practically all black or all white. School segregation is rising in the North because an increasing number of neighborhoods are becoming wholly black. Ironically, integration has progressed far more rapidly in the South. Only 10% of the South's 3,500,000 Negro schoolchildren attend integrated classes, but that is twice as many as a year ago. Federal education officials say that 4,200 of the 4,600 Southern school districts have sent in "acceptable" plans for integration. But the increase is slowing down because Congress—itsself reacting to the reaction against Negro demonstrations and gains—has softened the penalties for noncompliance.

HOUSING. Getting good housing is perhaps the most difficult hurdle of all for most Negroes. One tragedy is that urban renewal often means Negro removal—replacing shacks with vertical ghettos for middle-income Negroes and forcing lower-income Negroes to move to even meaner slums. Because the Negro urban population has almost doubled since 1950, the ghettos are spreading. Negroes now constitute 27% of the population in Chicago, 37% in St. Louis, 39% in Detroit, 40% in Birmingham, 41% in New Orleans and Baltimore, 24% in Norfolk and 63% in Washington. Worried about being surrounded by Negroes, most whites flee to the suburbs when Negroes move into an urban neighborhood; there, barely 4% of all residents are Negro.

When given the choice, most Negroes are not terribly eager to live next door to the white man. Even in the 17 states and 31 cities that have enacted fair-housing codes since 1958, thousands of huge, moderately priced apartment towers are pure white. Despite a fairly large supply of open housing, the Michigan Civil Rights Commission estimates that, since 1958, fewer than 60 Negro families have moved into white areas. The Negro's desire to enjoy the superior schooling and housing of a white neighborhood is very much tempered by his fear of striking out alone. He has a long way to go before he will live side by side with the white man even in moderate numbers.

POLITICS. The advances have been enormous: the potential is even larger. The number of Negroes in elective office has risen 25% to 30% in the Democratic Party over the past two years' alone. This autumn, a record 210 Negroes of both parties are trying for seats in state

legislatures, and hundreds more for other local offices. The number of Negroes in Congress has risen from two in 1954 to six now; altogether, 17 are running for Congress this fall (eleven Republicans and six Democrats). Massachusetts' Republican Attorney General Edward Brooke is the first Negro since Reconstruction to campaign for the U.S. Senate on a major party ticket. Last November, Cleveland's Carl Stokes, a Negro state legislator, came within 2,000 votes of unseating Mayor Ralph Locher, and Houston recently became the first Southern city to appoint a Negro assistant district attorney, Clark Gable Ward.

Negroes will not live up to their full potential in politics until they become more diligent at the polls. While the number of registered Negro voters in the South has risen from 1,900,000 to 2,300,000 in the past ten years, scarcely 35% of the eligible Negroes bother to vote in local elections up North; by contrast, 85% of the Jews vote, and get commensurate rewards when politicians pass out patronage or nominations. New York's 16% Negro population elects only one of the city's 19 U.S. Congressmen, two of the 37 city councilmen.

SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE. The most obvious and humiliating forms of discrimination have become illegal or unfashionable (at least in the North), but there are subtler problems. The Negroes, like the Catholics and Jews before them, want to be welcomed in the private clubs, on the golf courses and at weekend parties with their co-workers and customers. As it is, the Michigan Civil Rights Commission estimates that 90% of its state's whites have no contact with nonwhites, and the situation is much the same elsewhere.

The Negro thus has to look inward and, in so doing, is slowly beginning to discover a long-submerged sense of pride. That sense is essential to remedying the lower-class Negro's other social and economic ills, since only pride can overcome the defeatist attitude that has contributed so much to his high rates of unemployment, illegitimacy, delinquency and crime. In Rochester, St. Louis and a dozen other cities, Negroes in the past two years have organized to clean up their neighborhoods, finance small businesses, pressure for school improvements and get police action to chase out the "white hunters," white men who crash the ghetto in search of black prostitutes. There is a trend among Negro coeds and career girls to wear their hair "natural" instead of attempting to unkink it by "conking"—rinsing it with lye and binding it with handkerchiefs. Yet for every Negro who flaunts his identity, a hundred try to camouflage it. Advertisements in the Negro magazines still hymn Nadinola skin bleach: "Lightens and brightens skin."

If not all Negroes covet white skin, all of them without exception seek after the white man's freedom of choice. The Rev. James Jones, the white Episcopal Urban Vicar of Chicago, who moved into a Negro ghetto, argues that Negroes will not live up to their full responsibilities and potentials as citizens until the white majority grants them that freedom. "In the ghetto," he says, "there are no choices, no power, no ability to make responses. Therefore there is no responsibility." Considering that the U.S. is the first society in history to adopt as its national goal the full economic integration and social equality of different races, the Negro's choices are widening with fair rapidity. The U.S. has certainly come an incredibly long way since Abraham Lincoln, shortly before the end of the Civil War, asked his logistics experts to determine whether the U.S. could muster enough transportation to export the Negroes—only to be told that Negro babies were being born faster than all the nation's ships could carry them from the country.

The Negro has been a permanent part of America ever since then, and perhaps the greatest advance of recent years is the realization by white people that his problems cannot be ignored. The Negro's recent progress, far from making him content, has merely intensified his aspirations. The job of helping him to meet his legitimate needs may well continue to be the nation's most urgent piece of domestic business for decades to come.

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